

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 12990 01 OF 02 251527Z  
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00  
SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 EB-08 COME-00 TRSE-00  
AID-05 OMB-01 EUR-12 /074 W  
-----053445 251531Z /44

O R 250746Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 490  
USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY RANGOON  
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE  
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR  
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK  
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA  
AMEMBASSY MANILA  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA  
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON  
CINCPAC HONOLULU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 12990

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT PARA 2.)

USLO PEKING FOR SECRETARY

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: JA SC  
SUBJECT: FOREIGN OFFICE PERCEPTIONS OF JAPANESE SE ASIAN POLICY  
FOLLOWING PM FUKUDA'S TOUR

REF: TOKYO 12936 (NOTAL)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 12990 01 OF 02 251527Z

SUMMARY: WHILE VISIBLY PLEASED WITH RELATIVE SUCCESS OF PM  
FUKUDA'S RECENT TOUR IN IMPROVING ATMOSPHERE OF JAPAN-SEA  
RELATIONS, FONOFF OFFICIALS CONTINUE TO DESCRIBE FUTURE  
JAPANESE POLICY FOR REGION IN TERMS OF CAUTION AND  
CONTINUITY. PERCEIVING JAPAN'S ROLE IN SE ASIA AS  
COMPLEMENTARY TO U.S. OBJECTIVES, THEY EXPECT GOJ TO CONTINUE  
ITS INCREASED ECONOMIC SUPPORT OF ASEAN IN PARTICULAR BUT

WITHIN CAREFUL LIMITS. GOJ WILL EXTEND LIMITED AID TO VIETNAM IN HOPE OF DIMISHING RELIANCE ON SOVIETS, BUT WILL TAKE CARE TO AVOID ANTAGONIZING ASEAN IN PROCESS. IN EFFORT TO ERASE SE ASIAN DISTRUST OF JAPANESE, GOJ WILL PERSIST IN EFFORTS TO PROMOTE GREATER CULTURAL AND PERSONAL EXCHANGES. END SUMMARY.

1. FONOFF OFFICIALS WHO PARTICIPATED IN PM FUKUDA'S RECENT SE ASIAN TOUR HAVE EXPRESSED TO EMBOFF CONSIDERABLE SATISFACTION WITH ITS SUCCESS, NOTING WITH SOME PRIDE THAT FUKUDA'S JOURNEY SYMBOLIZED JAPAN'S FIRST INDEPENDENT DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE IN THE POSTWAR YEARS. BUT DESPITE OFFICIAL BUILD-UP TO PRESS AND PUBLIC OF POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PM'S TRIP, THEY READILY ADMITTED THAT JOG'S BASIC OBJECTIVES AND ACHIEVEMENTS IN THIS INITIATIVE HAD BEEN RELATIVELY MODEST:

--TO PLACE JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH REGION, AND ASEAN IN PARTICULAR, IN CONTEXT AND TERMS MORE ACCEPTABLE TO SE ASIAN SENSIBILITIES; AND  
--TO HELP UNDERCUT PERSISTENT IMAGE OF JAPANESE AS IRRESPONSIBLE "ECONOMIC ANIMALS" BY DEMONSTRATING, ESPECIALLY TO AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN AUDIENCES, THAT JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY COULD BE CONSTRUCTIVE AND NOT MOTIVATED BY IMMEDIATE PROFIT INTERESTS.  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 12990 01 OF 02 251527Z

FONOFF OFFICIALS BELIEVED THAT USEFUL PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE TOWARD BOTH OBJECTIVES.

2. FROM SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS WITH FONOFF ASIAN REGIONAL AFFAIRS DIVDIR NISHIYAMA, 1ST SE ASIAN DEPDIR HOGEN AND 2ND SE ASIAN DIVDIR TANINO, SEVERAL COMMON (AND FAMILIAR) THEMES EMERGED IN THEIR ASSESSMENTS OF FUKUDA'S TRIP AND JAPAN'S SE ASIA POLICY:

3. CONTINUITY OF JAPANESE POLICY: PM FUKUDA'S SPEECH IN MANILA (HEADLINED IN TOKYO AS "THE FUKUDA DOCTRINE") DID NOT PRESAGE ANY SUDDEN OR DRAMATIC SHIFT IN JAPANESE POLICY. THOUGH GOJ WOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK IMPROVED BILATERAL TIES THROUGHOUT REGION AND WOULD PLAY-UP ITS GREATER ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR ASEAN, ANY INCREASE IN JAPAN'S POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN SE ASIA WOULD IN FACT BE RELATIVELY MARGINAL. WE ARE TOLD BY ACCOMPANYING JOURNALIST THAT MEMBERS OF FUKUDA PARTY RESITED ANY TEMPTATION TO ADVOCATE MORE ACTIVIST ASIAN POLICY ON BASIS OF FUKUDA'S MODEST SUCCESS.

4. COMPLEMENTING US ROLE: THERE WAS COMMON ASSUMPTION

THAT JAPAN'S INCREASED INTEREST IN SE ASIA, AS  
MANIFESTED BY FUKUDA'S TRIP, WOULD BE WELCOMED BY  
WASHINGTON AS SUPPORTIVE OF BASIC US OBJECTIVES IN  
REGION. JAPANESE INITIATIVE HAD BEEN BASED ON BELIEF  
THAT US WOULD CONTINUE TO PLAY SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL,  
ECONOMIC AND SECURITY ROLE IN SE ASIA--A COMPOSITE  
ROLE JAPAN NEITHER ASPIRED TO NOR WAS ABLE TO ASSUME.  
WHILE FONOFF OFFICIALS HAVE PUBLICLY DENIED THAT US  
HAD SOMEHOW INSPIRED OR PUSHED JAPANESE DIALOGUE WITH  
ASEAN, THEY PRIVATELY NOTED THAT TOKYO'S DECISION TO  
BEGIN DIALOGUE HAD FORTUITOUSLY COINCIDED WITH US  
SUGGESTIONS OF "EXPANDED ASIAN ROLE" FOR JAPAN.  
(REFTEL)

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 12990 02 OF 02 251516Z  
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00  
SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 EB-08 COME-00 TRSE-00  
AID-05 OMB-01 EUR-12 /074 W  
-----053213 251528Z /44

O R 250746Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 491  
USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY RANGOON  
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE  
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR  
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK  
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA  
AMEMBASSY MANILA  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA  
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON  
CINCPAC HONOLULU

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 12990

CORRECTED COPY (TEXT)

USLO PEKING FOR SECRETARY

CINHZAC ALSO FOR POLAD

5. MEASURED DIALOGUE WITH ASEAN: WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT ASEAN EXPECTATIONS WOULD CONTINUE TO EXCEED JAPANESE WILLINGNESS TO MAKE ECONOMIC CONCESSIONS, FONOFF OFFICIALS NEVERTHELESS BELIEVED FUKUDA HAD STRUCK PROPER BALANCE DURING TRIP -- FORTHCOMING ENOUGH WITH ECONOMIC-ASSISTANCE PLEDGES TO VALIDATE HIS PUBLIC STANCE OF SUPPORT FOR SE ASIAN NATIONS, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 12990 02 OF 02 251516Z

BUT ALSO MAKING NO SECRET TO ASEAN LEADERSHIP OF LIMITS TO JAPANESE GENEROSITY. FUKUDA, THEY ASSERTED, HAD MADE STRONG PITCH AGAINST DISADVANTAGES ASSOCIATED WITH ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH EXCLUSIVE REGIONAL ECONOMIC BLOCK. (SEE SEPTEL ON JAPANESE ECONOMIC DISCUSSIONS WITH SE ASIANS).

6. LIMITED SUPPORT FOR INDOCHINA: FONOFF OFFICIALS STATED THAT GOJ WOULD CONTINUE TO ATTACH GREATER IMPORTANCE TO ITS RELATIONS WITH ASEAN STATES THAN WITH INDOCHINA COMMUNIST NATIONS. AT SAME TIME, HOWEVER, JAPAN WOULD ALSO CONTINUE TO EXERCISE CONSIDERABLE CAUTION IN ITS PUBLIC IDENTIFICATION WITH ASEAN FOR FEAR OF UNNECESSARILY ANTAGONIZING HANOI. FONOFF PERCEIVED THAT JAPAN MIGHT PLAY USEFUL ROLE IN HELPING TO WEAN SRV AWAY FROM EXCESSIVE RELIANCE ON SOVIETS THROUGH LIMITED AMOUNTS OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR DOMESTIC RECONSTRUCTION. FONOFF BELIEVED THAT ASEAN LEADERSHIP HAD UNDERSTOOD AND ACCEPTED FUKUDA'S PRIVATE EXPLANATIONS OF THIS POLICY.

7. "HEART-TO-HEART" DIPLOMACY: PERHAPS IN LINE WITH WEIGHT JAPANESE HAVE TRADITIONALLY GIVEN TO FORM AS WELL AS SUBSTANCE, CENTRAL PREMISE IN FONOFF DISCUSSIONS OF RELATIONS WITH SE ASIA HAS BEEN NEED TO OVERCOME LONG-STANDING SUSPICION AND ANTI-PATHY THROUGH DEMONSTRATION OF JAPANESE SINCERITY AND GOOD-WILL. HENCE, FUKUDA PARTICULARLY STRESSED PROMISE OF EQUAL PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN JAPAN AND SE ASIA. FONOFF PLANNED TO FOLLOW UP WITH PROPOSALS TO PROMOTE GREATER CULTURAL EXCHANGE.

8. COMMENT: FONOFF COMMENTARY ON FUKUDA'S TRIP AND CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 12990 02 OF 02 251516Z

LINES OF FUTURE JAPANESE POLICY IN SE ASIA APPEAR REALISTIC. MEMORY OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER TANAKA'S

SOUTHEAST ASIAN MISADVENTURES IS FRESH IN JAPAN JAPAN AND  
MERE FACT THAT FUKUDA ENCOUNTERED NO ANTI-JAPANESE  
DEMONSTRATIONS AND WAS ABLE TO FOLLOW PROGRAM AS  
PLANNED MUST BE COUNTED AS MAJOR PLUS. WHETHER  
"HEART-TO-HEART" DIPLOMACY, HOWEVER, CAN ERASE IN  
IMMEDIATE FUTURE SE ASIAN DISTRUST OF JAPANESE REMAINS  
QUESTIONABLE. MUCH WILL DEPEND ON JAPANESE ABILITY TO  
MEET SOUTHEAST ASIAN EXPECTATIONS AND LIVE UP TO SOUTH-  
EAST ASIAN PERCEPTIONS OF JAPANESE COMMITMENTS. GOJ  
HAS MADE A SIGNIFICANT STEP IN RAISING ITS DIPLOMATIC  
PROFILE IN SE ASIA, BUT HAS BEEN CAREFUL TO AVOID  
ENCUMBERING POLITICAL NUANCES. KEY NOTE TO ITS FUTURE  
ACTIONS WILL CONTINUE TO BE CAUTION. IN MEANTIME,  
TRIP HAS UNQUESTIONABLY BEEN POLITICAL PLUS FOR  
FUKUDA IN JAPAN, ENHANCING HIS PRESTIGE AT OUTSET  
OF COMING POLITICAL SEASON.  
MANSFIELD

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, POLICIES, CHIEF OF STATE VISITS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 25-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977TOKYO12990  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770318-1170  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** TOKYO  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770821/aaaaarpg.tel  
**Line Count:** 241  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 3c87e852-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION EA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 77 TOKYO 12936  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 03-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1480172  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** FOREIGN OFFICE PERCEPTIONS OF JAPANESE SE ASIAN POLICY FOLLOWING PM FUKUDA'S TOUR  
**TAGS:** OVIP, PFOR, PDEV, JA, SC, XC, (FUKUDA, TAKEO)  
**To:** STATE PEKING  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/3c87e852-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009